

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 GENEVA 7315

EXDIS USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PARM  
SUBJ: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENTS OF AUGUST 25, 1977  
(SALT TWO - 1371)

THE FOLLOWING ARE STATEMENTS DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER  
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF AUGUST 25, 1977:

SEMENOV'S FIRST STATEMENT, AUGUST 25, 1977

ONE OF THE QUESTIONS WHICH, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNDER-  
STANDING BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE USSR AND THE U.S.,  
HAS BEEN REFERRED TO THE DELEGATIONS, IS THE QUESTION CONCERNING  
SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS.

AS YOU KNOW, THE LIMITATIONS WHICH WILL BE ESTABLISHED  
UNDER THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT ARE BASED ON THE DECISIONS  
RECORDED IN THE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S.,  
REACHED IN 1974 IN VLADIVOSTOK, AS WELL AS ON THE RESULTS OF  
RELEVANT SUBSEQUENT SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS.

THE EFFORTS OF BOTH DELEGATIONS MUST BE DIRECTED TOWARD  
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EMBODYING THESE UNDERSTANDINGS IN THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT  
BEING WORKED OUT.

AS REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED HERE, THE SOVIET UNION ADVOCATES  
PROMPT INITIATION BY THE SIDES OF NEGOTIATIONS ON MORE FAR-  
REACHING MEASURES IN THE AREA OF STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION,  
BASED ON THE NEW AGREEMENT WHICH WILL RECORD THE VLADIVOSTOK

UNDERSTANDING AND THE RESULTS OF RELEVANT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, WHICH WERE HELD LATER.

AND THIS IS WHAT IS STATED IN ARTICLE XV OF THE JOINT DRAFT, THE TEXT OF WHICH HAS BEEN AGREED.

OF COURSE, UNDERSTANDINGS WHICH MIGHT BE REACHED BETWEEN THE SIDES IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE BASED ON STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY AND NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE.

THE QUESTION OF WORKING OUT SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS WAS DISCUSSED AT ANOTHER LEVEL, INCLUDING AT THE MEETING BETWEEN A. A. GROMYKO, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR, AND CYRUS VANCE, SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE U.S., IN GENEVA IN MAY 1977.

THIS QUESTION HAVING BEEN REFERRED TO US FOR CONSIDERATION, THE USSR DELEGATION, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE INTEREST EXPRESSED BY THE U.S. SIDE, HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO STATE THAT THE SOVIET SIDE EXPRESSES ITS READINESS TO MAKE AN EFFORT TO WORK OUT A STATEMENT ON SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS. WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT SUCH A STATEMENT COULD BE MADE BY THE SIDES WHEN THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT IS SIGNED.

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IN THIS CONNECTION, I HAVE ALSO BEEN INSTRUCTED TO EMPHASIZE THAT REACHING AGREEMENT ON THIS SCORE MUST NOT SLOW DOWN PREPARATION AND CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT CURRENTLY BEING WORKED OUT, INCLUDING ITS INTEGRAL PART--THE PROTOCOL ON CERTAIN MEASURES OF AN INTERIM NATURE.

AS FOR THE CONTENT OF THE JOINT STATEMENT, THE SOVIET SIDE BELIEVES THAT IT MUST REFLECT THE MAIN OBJECTIVE--THE INTENTION OF THE SIDES TO CONDUCT SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC ARMS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY OF THE SIDES.

NATURALLY, SUCH A STATEMENT, WITHOUT ANTICIPATING THE RESULTS OF THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS, WILL BE GENERAL IN NATURE, ESTABLISHING THE MAIN DIRECTIONS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF THAT DOCUMENT.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 4 GENEVA 7315

EXDIS USSALTTWO

IN THE SOVIET SIDE'S OPINION, ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL  
AIMS OF THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE FURTHER LIMITA-  
TIONS AND REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS. NATURALLY, CONSIDERA-  
TION AND RESOLUTION OF THE QUESTIONS ON THIS SCORE MUST BE  
CONDUCTED WITH AN ACCOUNT FOR ALL THE FACTORS WHICH DETER-  
MINE THE STRATEGIC SITUATION, INCLUDING SUCH FACTORS AS  
THE DIFFERENCE IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATIONS OF THE SIDES,  
THE EXISTENCE OF FORWARD-BASED NUCLEAR SYSTEMS AND THE  
POSSESSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY U.S. NATO ALLIES.

THE RELEVANT QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN WITHIN THE FIELD OF  
VISION OF THE SIDES SINCE THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE STRATEGIC  
ARMS LIMITATION TALKS. MORE THAN ONCE THE SOVIEIT SIDE HAS  
CITED WELL-REASONED ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF A RADICAL SOLUTION  
TO THE QUESTION OF FORWARD-BASED NUCLEAR SYSTEMS AND  
CARRIER-BASED AIRCRAFT NEAR THE TERRITORY OF THE USSR. THE  
NECESSITY OF SUCH A SOLUTION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE  
SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS FOLLOWS FROM OBJECTIVE CONSIDERATION  
OF THE STRATEGIC SITUATION AND IN TERMS OF GENUINE EMBODIMENT  
OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY OF THE SIDES  
AND INADMISSIBILITY OF UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE, IN THE SUBSEQUENT  
AGREEMENT WHICH WILL PRESUMABLY BE OF A BROADER NATURE.

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FURTHER MEASURES FOR QUALITATIVE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC  
OFFENSIVE ARMS, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF BANNING NEW TYPES  
AND SYSTEMS OF SUCH ARMS, AS WELL AS AGREED LIMITATIONS ON  
MODERNIZATION OF EXISTING ARMS, ARE ALSO ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL

AIMS OF THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS.

IN ADDITION, THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE AIMED AT RESOLVING THE QUESTIONS WHICH ARE BEING INCLUDED IN THE PROTOCOL ON INTERIM MEASURES, WHICH IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE NEW AGREEMENT AND WILL HAVE A THREE-YEAR TERM.

OTHER POSSIBLE QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN ENSURING STRATEGIC STABILITY AND EQUAL SECURITY OF THE SIDES WILL ALSO BE CONSIDERED.

OF COURSE, THE CORRESPONDING OBLIGATIONS WOULD BE EQUALLY BINDING ON BOTH SIDES.

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT IN DRAWING UP THE JOINT STATEMENT UNDER CONSIDERATION, CONTINUITY WILL BE ENSURED BETWEEN THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS AND THE CURRENT SOVIET-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDINGS, WHICH ARE AIMED AT LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS AND REDUCING THE RISK OF OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR. THE JOINT STATEMENT REFERRED TO MUST REFLECT THOSE DIRECTIONS IN WHICH CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTIONS, IN THEIR TOTALITY, WOULD PROVIDE A NEW, MAJOR STEP TOWARD CURBING THE RACE IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

SUCH ARE THE SOVIET SIDE'S PROPOSALS, WHICH THE USSR DELEGATION IS PRESENTING TODAY IN CONNECTION WITH ITS INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING WORKING OUT THE DRAFT OF SOME RECOMMENDATIONS  
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FOR THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS.

SEMENOV'S SECOND STATEMENT, AUGUST 25, 1977

IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BEING CONDUCTED HERE, IMPORTANT WORK HAS BEEN DONE ON REACHING AGREEMENT ON MANY PROVISIONS FOR INCLUSION IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

IN PARTICULAR, WE HAVE ALSO BEGUN DISCUSSING THE DRAFT TEXT OF THE PROTOCOL WHICH WILL BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE AGREEMENT UNDER PREPARATION AND WILL HAVE A TERM OF THREE YEARS.

AT THE AUGUST 16, 1977 MEETING THE USSR DELEGATION ADDRESSED THE QUESTION OF VERIFIABILITY, BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS THE SIDES WILL ASSUME UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT.

TODAY, IN ELABORATING ON THIS TOPIC, THE USSR DELEGATION

WOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE  
JOINT DRAFT TEXT, WHICH CONCERN VERIFICATION.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 630  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 4 GENEVA 7315

EXDIS USSALTTWO

AS HAS ALREADY BEEN SAID, ARTICLE XVI OCCUPIES AN  
IMPORTANT PLACE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF WORKING OUT THE DRAFT  
TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

THE SIDES HAVE DONE IMPORTANT, THOROUGH WORK TOWARD  
REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ARTICLE.

AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON PAR. 1 OF THIS ARTICLE,  
ACCORDING TO WHICH, FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROVIDING ASSURANCE  
OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT,  
EACH SIDE SHALL USE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION  
AT ITS DISPOSAL IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH GENERALLY RECOGNIZED  
PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. THIS EMBODIES THE PRINCIPLE,  
ADOPTED BY OUR STATES, OF VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED.

AGREEMENT HAS ALSO BEEN REACHED ON ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 2,  
WHICH ESTABLISHES THE OBLIGATION OF THE SIDES NOT TO INTER-  
FERE WITH THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION OF  
THE OTHER SIDE, OPERATING IN ACCORDANCE WITH PAR. 1 OF THIS  
ARTICLE.

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IT IS OF IMPORTANCE THAT BOTH THESE PARAGRAPHS OF ARTICLE XVI, ON WHICH THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US, WERE PART OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT AS OF NOVEMBER 20, 1976, WHICH WAS CONFIRMED AT THE MINISTERIAL MEETING IN GENEVA IN MAY 1977.

NATURALLY, PARS. 1 AND 2 OF ARTICLE XVI, WHICH HAVE BEEN AGREED, APPLY, JUST LIKE PAR. 3 OF THAT ARTICLE, TO ALL--I REPEAT, TO ALL--THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, THE SIDES HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE WITH RESPECT TO THE MUTUAL OBLIGATION OF THE SIDES NOT TO USE DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES WHICH IMPEDE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

IN THE INTERESTS OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRESS AT THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD, THE USSR DELEGATION TABLED A NEW PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET SIDE FOR ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3. WE NOTE THAT THE U.S. DELEGATION, AS IS EVIDENT FROM ITS STATEMENT AT THE AUGUST 19, 1977 MEETING, VIEWS THE NEW WORDING FOR ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, TABLED BY THE SOVIET SIDE, AS "A CONSTRUCTIVE STEP TOWARD RESOLUTION OF THE OVERALL PROBLEM."

AS A RESULT OF THE DISCUSSIONS HELD, AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE TEXT OF THE AGREED STATEMENT TO ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, ON THE TESTING OF ANTI-MISSILE DEFENSE PENETRATION AIDS. THE USSR DELEGATION TAKES SATISFACTION IN NOTING THIS PROGRESS.

A MAJOR ROLE IN PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLE  
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OF VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS IS ALSO BEING ASSIGNED BY THE SIDES TO THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION WHICH, AS ALREADY AGREED IN ARTICLE XVII, PAR. 2, WILL BE GIVEN A NUMBER OF APPROPRIATE FUNCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE NEW AGREEMENT, INCLUDING THE FUNCTION OF CONSIDERING QUESTIONS CONCERNING COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED.

ALL THIS SHOWS THAT IN WORKING OUT THE PROVISIONS CONCERNING VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED, FULL ACCOUNT IS TAKEN OF THE EXPERIENCE INVOLVING THE SOVIET-AMERICAN STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION ACCORDS WHICH ARE IN FORCE--THE ABM TREATY AND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT--

WHOSE IMPLEMENTATION, FOR ALMOST FIVE YEARS NOW, HAS PROVEN  
IN PRACTICE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION  
OF VERIFICATION, WHICH WAS FOUND EARLIER BY THE USSR AND THE  
U.S. JOINTLY.

AS FOR THE AGREED STATEMENT REGARDING THE DELIBERATE  
CONCEALMENT MEASURES REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3,  
WORK THEREON IS CONTINUING.

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S E C R E T SECTION 4 OF 4 GENEVA 7315

EXDIS USSALTTWO

IN THIS CONNECTION, I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE THE FOLLOWING.

IT WAS SAID IN THE U.S. DELEGATION'S STATEMENT OF  
AUGUST 19 THAT THE U.S. SIDE REGARDS THE QUESTION OF METHODS  
OF TRANSMITTING TELEMETRIC INFORMATION AS A QUESTION OF  
POLICY, NOT A TECHNICAL MATTER WHICH CAN BE LEFT TO THE  
DISCRETION OF THE SIDES. THE SOVIET SIDE HAS REPEATEDLY  
SET FORTH ITS POSITION ON THIS QUESTION, PROVIDING APPROPRIATE  
RATIONALE. WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THERE IS A  
MISUNDERSTANDING HERE, SINCE THE CONTENT OF TELEMETRIC INFORMA-  
TION AND METHODS OF ITS TRANSMISSION ARE, LIKE MANY OTHER  
TECHNICAL PROCEDURES, ONE OF THE COMPONENT PARTS OF THE  
PROCESS OF DEVELOPING THE RELEVANT ARMS, THAT IS, THEY FALL  
WHOLLY AND COMPLETELY WITHIN THE SPHERE OF TECHNOLOGICAL  
ACTIVITY WHICH IS THE PURELY INTERNAL AFFAIR OF EACH SIDE.  
BOTH THE CONTENT AND THE AMOUNT OF TELEMETRIC INFORMATION  
ARE DETERMINED ENTIRELY BY THE NATURE AND PURPOSES OF THE  
CORRESPONDING TECHNICAL ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT BY THE SIDES  
AND, CONSEQUENTLY, BY THEIR VERY NATURE, THEY CANNOT IN ANY

WAY BE PRESENTED AS AN OBJECT TO BE MONITORED BY NATIONAL  
TECHNICAL MEANS IN CONNECTION WITH THE OBLIGATIONS BEING  
ASSUMED BY THE SIDES UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT; NOR CAN THEY  
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BE USED AS A MEASURE DELIBERATELY TO HINDER OR IMPEDE SUCH  
VERIFICATION. AND IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT WE BELIEVE  
THAT TELEMETRIC INFORMATION, WHICH, AS ALREADY NOTED, IS  
ONE OF THE MANY COMPONENT PARTS OF THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING  
THE RELEVANT ARMS, IS UNRELATED TO DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT  
MEASURES AND THAT THE RESERVATION CONTAINED IN THE SOVIET  
PROPOSAL, INCLUDED THEREIN IN CONNECTION WITH THE U.S. SIDE'S  
RAISING THE QUESTION OF TELEMETRY, DOES NOT AT ALL WEAKEN  
OR NARROW THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE SIDES UNDER ARTICLE XVI AS  
A WHOLE.

THE USSR DELEGATION TAKES NOTE OF THE CONSIDERATION  
EXPRESSED BY THE U.S. DELEGATION AT THE AUGUST 19, 1977  
MEETING, TO THE EFFECT THAT PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN NARROWING  
DIFFERENCES WHICH CURRENTLY APPEAR IN THE DRAFT LANGUAGE OF  
THE AGREED STATEMENT IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3.

THE U.S. SIDE IS AWARE OF THE SPECIFIC PROPOSAL OF THE  
SOVIET SIDE ON THIS QUESTION.

THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT IT WILL BE USEFUL TO  
HAVE A FURTHER EXCHANGE OF VIEWS FOR THE PURPOSE OF REACHING  
AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3. KLOSSON

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